



Syria
Archéologie, art et histoire

87 | 2010
Varia

Julien ALIQUOT, *Inscriptions grecques et latines de la Syrie 11, Mont Hermon (Liban et Syrie)*

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Electronic version

URL: <http://journals.openedition.org/syria/844>

DOI: 10.4000/syria.844

ISSN: 2076-8435

Publisher

IFPO - Institut français du Proche-Orient

Printed version

Date of publication: 1 November 2010

Number of pages: 441-443

ISBN: 9782351591697

ISSN: 0039-7946

Electronic reference

Ted Kaizer, « Julien ALIQUOT, *Inscriptions grecques et latines de la Syrie 11, Mont Hermon (Liban et Syrie)* », *Syria* [Online], 87 | 2010, Online since 01 July 2016, connection on 25 September 2020. URL : <http://journals.openedition.org/syria/844> ; DOI : <https://doi.org/10.4000/syria.844>

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son métier. D. Kennedy oblige à réfléchir, et donne en même temps une vision dynamique de l'évolution d'une large microrégion, en soulignant combien il est difficile de tirer des conclusions définitives sur les phases de peuplement et de développement, par ex., quand, d'une période à l'autre, la nature même de la documentation change. Il rappelle avec raison que l'archéologie invite de plus en plus à revenir sur la notion de ruralisation et de déclin urbain de l'Antiquité

tardive, et que si les villages se développent et se multiplient, rien n'indique que les villes déclinent, du moins dans cette région. De même, la césure byzantino-omeyyade est de moins en moins visible, et donc grandement contestable. On pourrait multiplier les exemples pertinents, dont certains seront peut-être contestés, voire invalidés par de futures découvertes, mais qui tous invitent à la prudence. Un bel essai, parfois difficile, mais toujours stimulant.

Maurice SARTRE

Julien ALIQUOT, *Inscriptions grecques et latines de la Syrie, tome II, Mont Hermon (Liban et Syrie)*, BAH, 183, IFPO, Beyrouth, 2008, 28 cm, vi + 168 p., ISBN : 978-2-35159-079-9.

This latest instalment in the *IGLS* series deals with the epigraphic harvest from the Hermon. Originally announced in 1959 by Father R. Mouterde (two years before his death) as soon to be published as part of volume VI (*IGLS*, V, p. 2), the Hermon inscriptions had since then long been awaited as a separate tome (*IGLS*, VI, p. 6). Work on the actual book here under discussion commenced in 2003, when Mouterde's manuscript was passed on to J. Aliquot. In an earlier version, it served as an appendix to the latter's PhD on religious life in the Roman Lebanon, which has now been published as a separate volume in the same *BAH* series (189) as *La vie religieuse au Liban sous l'Empire romain* (Beirut, 2009).

Aliquot opens his *IGLS* volume with general considerations about the geography of the Hermon (emphasising the fact that the population was most numerous on its western slope), the mountain's multifarious reputation for sanctity through the centuries, and an overview of the history of the region's exploration and subsequent historiography—from the first available record of a voyage by Ulrich Jasper Seetzen¹, via the classic 1938 volume by Krencker & Zschietzschmann, *Römische Tempel in Syrien*, to Aliquot's own five epigraphic missions in the noughties, which resulted in the discovery of nineteen new inscriptions included here². It is then rightly accentuated that, in the Roman period, the Hermon “apparaît ... comme un pays de villages associés à des sanctuaires”³, before an important

section is dedicated to the problem of the various eras used in the dating formulae of the inscriptions, due to the fact that the many villages were divided over the territories of Sidon, Damascus and Paneas.

No doubt as a matter of political expediency (*cf.* p. 15), the collection is nominally that of inscriptions from the territories of Lebanon and Syria (with the names of both countries even formally forming part of the book's title) whereas material from those areas which are now considered as part of the state of Israel appears only as an appendix on the southern Hermon. The main body of the set comprises of fifty-five inscriptions, seventeen from the western Hermon and thirty-eight from the eastern part, geographically divided to acknowledge their belonging to the Lebanese and Syrian lands respectively, but numbered uninterruptedly (nos 1-55). The twenty-five inscriptions from the southern slopes receive a separate system of numbering (nos A/1-A/25), and so does an additional list of references to Paneas in inscriptions from elsewhere (nos T/1-T/7).

The epigraphic corpus (or rather corpora) is/are presented with full references to previous publications, information about collation, splendid photographs where possible, translations and sometimes very lengthy commentaries. In what follows I will simply point out specifics that appear in the inscriptions and that have drawn my particular (and no doubt arbitrary) interest.

1. It may be added to p. 11, n. 32, that the most recent edition of this text is now that by A. Lichtenberger: U. J. SEETZEN, *Unter Mönchen und Beduinen. Reisen in Palästina und angrenzenden Ländern 1805-1807*, Stuttgart/Vienna, 2002.

2. Aliquot had already published three of those previously, in an article which appeared in *BAAL*, 8 (2004), p. 301-314. Note that Haloua, from which these inscriptions come, was then still described as “situé dans la partie septentrionale de l'Hermon” (p. 301); in the present volume, where the texts are nos 1-3, they are grouped with the documents from the western part of the mountain.

3. *Cf.* J. ALIQUOT, « Sanctuaries and villages on Mt Hermon during the Roman period », in T. KAIZER (éd.), *The Variety of Local Religious Life in the Near East in the Hellenistic and Roman Periods*, Leiden/Boston, 2008, p. 73-96.

The first inscription, from Haloua (n° 1), is immediately of great peculiarity. It concerns an inscription from AD 156 set up 'on the command (διαταγή) of the holy god [probably 'of'] Remala(s)', which as Aliquot writes may well have been the ancient name of the site, and 'following the order (κατὰ κέλευσι[ν]) of the god angel Melicertes'. The fascinating replication of directives on the part of the divine is explained by Aliquot as the result of an "idée d'une hiérarchie dans le pantheon local", with Melicertes in the messenger's role subordinated to "une grande divinité cosmique" (p. 28). In any case, the mention of Melicertes of course fits well with the popularity of his mother Leucothea elsewhere on the Hermon, especially at Rakhle (for the inscriptions from her cult site there, see n° 20-30)⁴. Aliquot rejects the once fancied and certainly ingenious restoration of n° 20, from AD 60, as an allusion to 'the goddess of the myth of the drowned child' —θεᾶς μοιθοῦ τοῦ ῥαι(σ)ι[θέντος παιδός]—⁵, and supports the rather more mundane reading of this text as a reference to 'the goddess of Moithos, son of Raios' (θεᾶς μοιθοῦ τοῦ Ραιο[υ]). Although there are of course plenty of examples of a deity designated as that 'of' an individual worshipper (and hence by extension of his immediate family) from elsewhere in the Near East which could serve as parallels⁶, I have to admit that I still feel more inclined to go with the former reading and interpretation, considering the imperative role that mythology could play in the endless processes by which Classical modes of religious culture were bred and regenerated. But, since the inscription has never been found again and the basis of any discussion is the original transcription made by O. Puchstein (cf. p. 51), the problem must remain unsolved. With regard to the dedication to Leucothea 'of the Segeiroi' from Ain el-Bourj (n° 39)

that refers to someone τοῦ ἀποθεωθέντος ἐν τῷ λέβητι δι' οὗ αἱ (ἐ)ορταὶ ἄγωνται, Aliquot discards the "interprétation ritualiste et initiatique" (p. 69) of this text, namely that the person in question had been initiated in a kettle in an otherwise unknown rite in association with those versions of the myth in which Melicertes was thrown in a kettle by either of his parents. Instead, he proposes a convincing explanation based on "l'existence d'une cérémonie funèbre liée au culte de Leucothéa" (p. 69)⁷.

The corpus from the Hermon adheres to the patterns known from elsewhere in the Near East, namely that nearly all the temples and other public buildings are the result of donations made by local benefactors, often in some sort of family affair, as in n° 14 from Ain Horché, which records a restoration by someone 'and his cousins' (καὶ ἀνεψιοί). Not only from those dedications, but from the wide range of inscriptions in general, related to a variety of aspects, the leading role of the priesthood in the local societies of the Hermon stands out (e.g. n° 13, 19, 22, 24, 27, 38). It may be noted that whereas a text from Ain Aata (n° 15) from AD 265 describes a certain Iulius Kanthouros as εἰεραῖος, "sans doute pour ιερέως (gén.), au lieu du nominative ιερεὺς" (p. 42), the conventional term rather than the divergent one for which we have this parallel is chosen by Aliquot in his restoration of what seems to be an epitaph of the same man from the same site (n° 16): [Ἰούλιος] Κά[ν]θο[υ]ρος ιερεὺς θεοῦ ---]ου καὶ θεᾶς [---], on a block which intriguingly combines a Gorgon's head with the fatalistic final line οὐδεὶς ἀθάνα[τος]. N° A/13, from Caesarea-Paneas, uses the "équivalent poétique" (p. 100) ἀρητήρ, in a dedication φιλενήχῳ Διόπανι of what probably was a statue of Echo. And at Deir el-Aachaiyer, a δέφρος⁸ was installed under the auspices of the ἀρχιερεὺς θεῶν Κιβορείας

4. It has often been forgotten that the Latin dedication to Mater Matuta from Deir el-Qal'a, in the hinterland of Berytus, ought to be tied in with this corpus too. Cf. T. KAIZER, « Leucothea as Mater Matuta at *colonia* Berytus. A note on local mythology in the Levant and the Hellenisation of a Phoenician city », in *Syria*, 82, 2005, p. 199-206, and now also J. ALIQUOT, « Cultes locaux et traditions hellénisantes du Proche-Orient : à propos de Leucothéa et de Mélécerte », in *Topoi*, 14, 2006, p. 245-264, esp. p. 250-251.

5. As had been suggested originally by R. MOUTERDE, « Cultes antiques de la Cœlésyrie et de l'Hermon », in *MUSJ*, 36, 1959, p. 78-81.

6. In addition to the examples given by Aliquot, one could think with regard to Aramaic epigraphy of the worship of the Gad of Ramgu at Hatra (cf. Hatra-inscriptions H406, 408-9, 413ii-iii) or of that of the goddess of Hayyan son of Naybat at Petra (cf. J. F. HEALEY, *The Religion of the Nabataeans. A Conspectus*, Leiden, 2001, p. 139).

7. His long commentary on this fascinating inscription builds on his article, « Leucothéa de Segeira », in *Syria*, 79, 2002, p. 231-248. For the alternative view, see C. Bonnet, « De l'histoire des mentalités à l'histoire des religions : à propos de Leucothéa et de trois petits cochons », in *SEL*, 14, 1997, p. 91-104.

8. Aliquot interprets this as « généralement léger, mobile et dépourvu de dossier » (p. 32), the opposite of the static θρόνος, of which he sees the cultic throne at the Phoenician healing sanctuary of Eshmoun as a key example, and also the passage in *On the Syrian Goddess* 24. It is supposed that the δέφρος was similar to the 'procession vehicle' depicted on coins issued by Sidon under Elagabal.

(n° 4), according to an inscription that hints at the existence of a sacerdotal pecking order also in the rural areas of the Near East.

In addition to local benefactions, temple building projects could also be funded otherwise. A lintel from Aaiha (n° 7) records how the local sanctuary was built ἐκ τῶν ἱερρατικῶν, and the same formula appears in a partly damaged inscription from Hiné (n° 46), where the work paid for by the sacred funds is supervised by *epimeletai*, but seemingly ordered by the later emperor Pertinax: “le seul témoignage syrien de l’activité de Pertinax en tant que gouverneur de la province”, and likewise special in that it records “l’intervention d’un gouverneur dans la construction d’un sanctuaire” (p. 83). Also from Hiné comes a text (n° 47) that testifies how four *epimeletai* have built something ἐκ τῶν προ[ο]σ[ο]δῶν τοῦ θεοῦ, but apparently after their own advance: [προ]ο[α](ν)ηλώσαν[τες], “ayant avancé (l’argent par eux-mêmes)” (p. 83). Similarly, in n° 42 from Arné, the adornment of the temple of the local god is sponsored by that god himself (ἐκ τῶν τοῦ αὐτοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ). Here, the god in question is designated as that of the village (ἐκοζμήθη ὁ ναὸς θεοῦ Διὸς κώμης Ωρνέας), in a manner that ought to call to mind the appearance at Dura-Europos both of Zeus Theos and of the god Aphlad (the latter said to have been λεγομένου θεοῦ τῆς Ἀναθ κώμης Εὐφράτου).⁹

Further inscriptions provide new instances of the worship of long-known divinities, sometimes from unexpected angles. A dedication of a temple to the enigmatic *Theos Andrios* comes from Rimé, from AD 198/9 (n° 41),¹⁰ and the large inscribed tub from Hiné (n° 52), which records its dedication by a local temple treasurer, is perhaps similar to

the smaller mixing-basins from Palmyra, equally inscribed around the rim.¹¹ N° 45 is an inscription spread over four sides of an altar from Kafr Hawar. In contrast to Lucian’s *On the Syrian Goddess*, where the indigenous name of the goddess is conspicuously absent, this concerns a dedication Θεῷ Συρίᾳ Ἱερρα- [π]ολιτῶν by a certain Lucius, who first identifies himself as the goddess’ δοῦλος, and then goes on to describe himself as εὐσεβὴς καὶ πεμφθεὶς ὑπὸ τῆς κυρίας Ἀταργάτης. From Banias comes a funerary text (n° A/23) that applies uncommon (as far as the Near East is concerned) poetic language to state that the deceased has been led prematurely to the Hades (εἰς [Αἴ]δαο) by Moira. Finally, there is the Hellenistic bilingual from Tel Dan (n° A/12), of which the Aramaic counterpart could perhaps be restored as *l’[lh’ dy bdn]* (‘to the god who is in Dan’) rather than *l’[lh’ dn]* (‘to the god of Dan’), since according to the Greek this is a dedication Θεῷ τῷ ἐν Δανοῖς.

The volume is completed with a section on onomastics, drawing attention to the division between the mountain’s villages where Semitic nomenclature dominates and Paneas where the personal names are mostly Classical, and with very fully indices, concordance and bibliography. The clarity of the beautifully produced maps which appear throughout the book is especially commendable. In conclusion, then, this volume will serve as an invaluable tool for further exploration of all aspects of the Hermon region and the Phoenician lands in particular, and of the study of the Roman Near East in general. It occupies a worthy place in the *IGLS* series, further progress of which is keenly anticipated and can be checked at <www.hisoma.mom.fr/Programme_epigraphie/JB_YON/IGLS_intro.html>.

Ted KAIZER

Frédérique BIVILLE, Jean-Claude DECOURT & Georges ROUGEMONT (éd.), *Bilinguisme gréco-latin et épigraphie, Actes du colloque des 17, 18 et 19 mai 2004 (CMO, 37 - Série épigraphique et historique, 6), 348 p., Maison de l’Orient et de la Méditerranée, Lyon, 2008, ISBN : 978-2-35668-000-6.*

Dans un empire officiellement bilingue et culturellement multilingue, la question du bilinguisme représente un enjeu politique et culturel majeur. Les équipes lyonnaises qui se sont associées pour organiser le colloque dont ce livre fournit les actes

avaient choisi de se limiter au seul bilinguisme gréco-latin, et à un type de documentation, les inscriptions. Le choix paraît judicieux, à défaut de pouvoir tout traiter, et l’épigraphie fournit assez de documents à la fois publics et privés pour que l’on tente, au

9. C. HOPKINS, in *The Excavations at Dura-Europos. Preliminary Report of Fifth Season of Work*, New Haven, 1934, p. 112-113, n° 416.

10. Cf. p. 75, with n. 70-1, for all references to the complete dossier of this deity.

11. Cf. Fr. BRIQUEL-CHATONNET, « Un cratère palmyrénien inscrit : nouveau document sur la vie religieuse des Palmyréniens », *ARAM*, 7, 1995, p. 153-163.